

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

144
563 Anthropometric measurements made on 230 living adults have been forwarded to Dr. Harry L. Shapiro for analysis. About 25 individuals measured were of mixed blood; the remainder were full-blooded Pukapukans, an equal number of males and females. The amount of racial or of early interisland mixture is not great. Two Manihikian women, castaways, married and settled down on the island about 10 generations ago. Recent intermixture with whites is readily observed. There is no discrimination against or in favor of those of mixed blood. The average stature of Pukapukan men and women is noticeably less than that observed for other Polynesian groups. Women are shorter than men. The presence of the epicanthic fold was noted in several individuals. The glabella is more prominent in men than in women. Face type seems to vary between a narrow, long face with a long nose and a wide face with a short, broad nose. It is possible that analysis will reveal two physical types based on these distinctions. Lips in general are thin or medium thick. The hair is black; low and medium waves are common. Body hair is scanty on both sexes. Skin color is a light brown which becomes very dark on prolonged exposure to the sun. The skin color of infants is extremely fair.

MOTOR HABITS

516 Little sex differentiation was observed in motor habits. The common position in sitting is "turkish fashion". The legs are crossed with knees bent and resting on the inside portion of the sole of the foot, the outside edges of the feet resting on the ground. A common variation is to raise the right foot and rest it on top of the left knee. This is the position for all sedentary activities, whether mat plaiting, food preparation, sennit making, or simple rest. Only a man braiding sennit sits with outstretched legs; he loops the free end of the sennit round the toe of an extended foot to obtain a tension on the cord.

481
164 The bent-knee gait is common in walking. Apart from individual walking habits due to previous yaws infection of feet and legs, the common habit is to walk with the palms hanging at the side and turned inward, the toes pointing straight ahead. Running and jumping habits seem to be similar to those of the ordinary unskilled white person. Children crawl on hands and knees and on hands and feet.

513
192 Both sexes lie and sleep (*moa*) in a wide variety of positions, on the side, prone, or supine. The Pukapukan distinguishes by descriptive names more than thirty-five different types of sleep according to position, movements during sleep, and soundness of sleep. The amount of sleep for adults varies from 4 to 8 hours each night, sometimes with an hour or more of extra sleep during the day. Young children sleep whenever they are tired. Children

516
156 ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

TOPOGRAPHY

131
167 The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

311
101 Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig. 1, a) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. The entire population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig. 1, b). The word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

361
505
491
166
164 The landing passage (*mo*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The westernmost section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

423
361
731
621 The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

587
836
431
753
—
837
753
164
—
services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged between lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

595
587
Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of temporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582
613
The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakavae*) are nominally neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages^a

	NGAKE		LOTO		YATO		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalongo	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngage	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngage	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalongo, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

^a Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriages between the paternal lineages of each village.